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ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF DEFENSE
Washington 25, D. C.

International Security Affairs

Baker
September 6, 1961

Refer to: I-16,299/61

MEMORANDUM TO PARTICIPANTS IN NATO PLANNING CONFERENCE

REFERENCE: ASD(ISA) Memorandum, 22 August 1961 - I-16,034/61

Attached are several documents relating to the exercise which should be brought to the Conference:

1. "Instructions for Red and Blue Teams", distributed herewith as an operational description of the technique to be employed. (S)
2. "Time Schedule", subject to minor changes but distributed as a supplement to the instructions to help visualize the procedure. (S)
3. Three brief draft "Scenarios", illustrative of a possible starting point of the game. One of these, in greater detail than the drafts enclosed, will be chosen as the point of departure. (S)
4. Memorandum regarding travel and accommodations. (U)
5. List of participants. (U) (You will be notified later of the composition of the teams.)

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Berlin Decision Exercise

Instructions for Red and Blue Teams

I. Basic Scheme

1. The point of departure is a "scenario," prepared in advance, which carries events from the present to a future point in time. It is intended to be plausible, but not necessarily more plausible than a dozen alternative scenarios might be. It is designed to provide a climactic starting point. Actually, three such scenarios in brief form will be available to the participants in advance; one of these will be chosen for the exercise and made available in greater detail at the start of the exercise.

2. Certain military assumptions regarding available forces and their status, will be provided to Red and to Blue. Each will be provided appropriate intelligence about the other's military situation. For the most part these will be reasonable estimates projected to the opening date, somewhat modified by events in the scenario, and simplified to facilitate the game.

3. The game proceeds in a sequence of policy-planning stages. Each team evaluates the situation, identifies the principal strategies available to it, and determines a course of action. The course of action must be responsive to the anticipated actions of the other team; that is, it should contain contingent moves as well as definite moves, and specifies the response to alternative foreseeable moves by the adversary. Both Red and Blue do this simultaneously, as of a given point in time. The first such point in time -- for the first policy planning session -- is the point at which the initial scenario leaves off. Approximately three hours are allowed for one such stage.

4. For this purpose the Blue Team represents (or plans on behalf of) the United States Government, the Red Team represents the government of the Soviet Union. The Blue team does not control or represent the NATO Alliance. The Red team "controls" satellite governments -- and in particular the GDR -- to the extent it can be presumed to in reality. The control team will determine the actual behavior of other countries or of dissident elements within, say, the GDR.

5. The Control team receives the planning documents from the Red and Blue teams at the end of the first policy-planning session. (No "game time" transpires during the policy-planning session; the teams develop their strategies as of the specified moment in time.) Using the plans of both Red and Blue, Control projects the original scenario to a second point in time, at which the second planning stage takes place. To the extent that Red and Blue actions are contingent on each other,

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Control must determine what actions are implied in the two plans taken together. Control superimposes such events as are outside the control of Red and Blue -- e.g., third-country behavior, accidents or acts of God, outcomes of chance events. The starting point for stage two is thus the original scenario carried forward on the basis of the Red and Blue plans and Control's manipulation of outside events.

6. "Scenario" material for the second policy-planning stage is thus provided by Control. It indicates to Red and Blue what their actions were and what the consequences have been. It provides to each side appropriate intelligence about the other's action and about events and third-country behavior.

7. The second planning stage proceeds then like the first, is followed by another projection of events by Control, and a third stage, and a fourth. These four policy-planning stages, together with Control's projections of events, take two days.

8. At the end of the fourth planning session both teams are given the full documentation of the other team -- the other team's planning documents and the other team's intelligence as provided by Control along the way. Each team thus has retroactive access to the other's estimates, statements of intent, etc. A fifth session is then devoted to a projection by each team of likely outcomes. Red, Blue, and Control separately prepare their evaluations and projections with full access to all the documents, and these three projections are distributed to all participants.

9. A sixth and final session is a plenary discussion of the entire experience.

II. Detailed Structure of the Planning Cycles

10. A "Cycle" consists of a Red-Blue planning session and a projection session by Control. The policy-planning documents submitted by a team to Control, at the close of a policy-planning session, will be referred to as the team's "strategy." The materials provided to the teams at the outset of the policy-planning session will be referred to as Control's "projection."

11. Upon receipt of scenario materials from Control at the outset of a planning session, Red and Blue teams may direct written "Queries" to Control, to which they will receive written "Answers." The purpose of these queries is to clarify unintended ambiguity in the scenario material, to check with Control any questionable assumptions the team will make, or to elicit supplementary materials on matters that Control was insufficiently responsive or informative on. Ordinarily these queries should be received by Control within the first half hour of the planning session. The queries need not all be collected in a single document; queries should be sped to Control as they arise.

12. For the first session it is expected that such queries may be extensive, and will relate to preparation or actions that the teams will wish to assume they had taken prior to the opening of the game. For that reason a special session on the scenario will be held by each team on the

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evening before the first policy-planning session. Teams will receive the scenario at 8:30 Friday evening and have a two-hour session to familiarize themselves with the context, to discuss general strategy, and to prepare in detail the queries they wish to address to Control. Control's response and supplementary scenario material will be available at the start of the first planning session Saturday morning.

13. In allowing Red and Blue to make certain prior assumptions Control will be permissive within two important limitations. First, such assumptions must be consistent with the scenario and not too dependent on hindsight. Second, additions to the scenario requested by Red or Blue that would entail a response or countermove by the other team will usually be disallowed to avoid "gaming" the scenario retroactively.

14. At the end of each strategy session Control may direct queries to Red and Blue. These will be to elicit fuller or clearer detail at those points in the plan that Control (with access to the other team's strategy) foresees as critical. Control queries will be in writing, should be delivered within the first half hour after the planning documents are in, and should be answered promptly by Red or Blue.

15. Control will have an observer sitting in the room with each team. The observer will keep Control posted on developing plans of the team, to expedite Control's own preparations. The observer will sit with Control during the "projection" phase of the cycle to help inform Control of the team's intentions and understandings. The observer will particularly be alert to any mistaken assumptions or interpretations of the team that need to be ironed out or coordinated with Control. The observer will help Control in the interpretation of queries received from the team. The observer will not be used by the team as a direct line of communication with Control.

16. Ordinarily Red and Blue will not communicate orally with each other or with Control. An exception may occur in connection with military details. Direct consultation between the military members of Red or Blue and Control's military advisers may be necessary to iron out essential assumptions on military detail.

17. Certain military details will be displayed on maps. The purpose is partly to facilitate the team's appreciation of military resources and events, partly to provide a visual check on the consistency of team and Control assumptions about military resources and events. Team plans will make reference to maps where appropriate, and Control's military advisers may consult with team military members to verify plans or to clarify projections with reference to the map displays.

18. The exact form in which Red and Blue submit their strategies (planning documents) is up to them. The contents should include:

- a - An estimate of the situation with statement of general objectives and estimate of adversary's general objectives.
- b - An outline of main alternatives with their likely consequences; and an outline of main alternatives available to the adversary.

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- c - Detailed statement of strategy chosen, giving:
- 1- definite moves decided on;
 - 2- contingent moves and what they depend on;
 - 3- estimated adversary moves and responses.

19. Direct communication between US and SU governments may be indicated in the form of messages (e.g., notes, broadcasts) that are to be passed verbatim to the other team for the next cycle. Actions taken secretly or conspicuously should be so described to facilitate Control's transmittal of appropriate intelligence to the other team for the next cycle.

20. The projection provided by Control for each cycle will necessarily be brief and selective. For this reason Control will need to be aware of the emphasis teams attach to different issues and activities -- e.g., to intelligence of particular kinds, to alliance problems, world opinion, state of strategic forces, military tactics, etc. The observers will help Control to be responsive to the teams' interests; but teams should be as candid and informative as they can be on their main interests at each stage.

21. The internal organization -- if any -- of Red and Blue teams is up to the teams. It is not intended that team members "represent" agencies or cabinet posts or any such thing. Any division of labor is an internal team matter. The one organizational requirement indicated by experience with this type of game is that the Captain must exercise authority. The time schedule requires this. Efficiency in reaching decisions and getting them on paper is essential to the pace of the exercise.

22. The teams are to develop the best strategies they can that are consistent with American or Soviet objectives. The Red team, in particular, is not to imitate or predict Soviet behavior but to explore what the Soviets can do and elect the most effective strategies. (The Red team is not comprised of specialists on Soviet behavior.)

23. The teams are not directed to confine their attention to Berlin, or to Germany, or to Europe. If events dictate, or if strategies are so chosen, strategic forces or events and interests outside the theater may become a dominant preoccupation. Control will use its unseen hand to keep actions from becoming too diffuse; but, in principle, Red and Blue are deciding national strategy in a crisis, not just local or regional strategy.

III. The Control Team's Responsibilities

24. The Control team has two somewhat competing responsibilities. One function is to channel the game in interesting directions, maintaining the tempo of the game, and choosing decisive points in time for the successive policy-planning stages. In doing this it utilizes the variables under its control -- third countries, chance events, selective intelligence

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flows to the teams, etc. It thus plays a more active role than a "referee." Since time is short and only four policy-planning stages will fit, Control must actively force the pace of events.

25. At the same time, Control must not make decisions for Red and Blue. It must, as far as possible, project the explicit and implicit strategies of the teams and not commit them to decisions inconsistent with their strategies. Control must also stay within bounds of plausibility in the events it controls. Thus it must "guide" events in a plausible way within the strategies developed by Red and Blue. How faithfully it can project Red and Blue decisions will of course depend on how well those teams have identified contingencies and specified their actions and responses.

26. Military actions will likely be involved and may become dominant. The object is not, however, to explore or test the tactical implications of military plans; this is not a "war game." Control's military evaluations must be plausible but beyond that will be a compromise with time and will be responsive to the need to guide the game. Military detail may at times be exceedingly significant for political decisions, but military detail for its own sake is not the object.

27. Control will "leak" intelligence to Red and Blue, both intelligence of its own invention about the variables under its control, and intelligence about actions determined by the teams. Where the detail provided in team plans is insufficient to determine what the other team should "observe," Control will be obliged to flesh out the details of an action -- within the spirit of the team's strategy, as far as possible. Control may give conflicting intelligence to Red and Blue if circumstances warrant, still within bounds of plausibility.

IV. Rapporteurs

28. Rapporteurs will be assigned to Red and Blue teams. They will keep notes of the discussion -- of points that arise, ideas raised and discarded, reasoning of the team, etc. They should write up their notes immediately after each strategy session. (Teams may use the rapporteurs as recorders of ideas they want in the record but that do not show up in their strategies; but they need not make use of the rapporteurs.) Rapporteurs' notes should be available to team members prior to the next session.

BERLIN DECISION EXERCISE

TIME SCHEDULE

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Friday

- 8-8:30 p.m. Orientation, administrative arrangements, distribution of scenario.
- 8:30-10:30 Teams hold preliminary meetings on scenario, prepare queries for Control.
- 10:30-12:00 Control prepares responses to queries.

Saturday

- 8:30-12:00 Planning session, Cycle I.
- 12:00-12:30 Observers brief Control, strategies delivered to Control.
- 12:30-1:00 Teams respond to Control's queries.
- 1:00-3:00 Teams lunch.
- 3:00-6:30 Control prepares projection for Cycle II.
- 6:30-7:00 Planning session, Cycle II.
- 7:00-7:30 Control develops questionnaire.
- 7:30-8:00 Observers brief Control, strategies delivered to Control.
- 8:00-9:30 Teams respond to Control's queries.
- 9:30-12:00 Dinner
- 9:30-10:30 Control prepares projection for Cycle III.
- 9:30-10:30 Team session on questionnaire.

Sunday

- 8:30-12:00 Planning session, Cycle III.
- 12:00-12:30 Observers brief Control, strategies delivered to Control.
- 12:30-1:00 Teams respond to Control's queries.
- 1:00-3:00 Teams lunch.
- 3:00-6:30 Control prepares projection for Cycle IV.
- 6:30-7:00 Planning session, Cycle IV.
- 7:00-7:30 Observers brief Control, strategies delivered to Control.
- 7:30-8:00 Teams respond to Control's queries.
- 8:00-9:30 Dinner
- 9:30-11:00 Full documentation provided to all participants.
- Reading period, teams' preliminary discussion.
- Control initiates preparation of its final projection.

Monday

- 8:30-10:00 Control finishes projection.
- 8:30-12:00 Teams prepare projections.
- 10:00-12:00 Control prepares agenda for plenary.
- 12:00-1:00 Lunch
- 1:00-2:00 Final projection of Blue, Red, and Control distributed, one hour for reading.
- 2:00-5:00 Plenary session.

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DRAFT SCENARIO

The date is February 1, 12 noon Berlin time, and the following has happened since August 15:

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In September 1961, December 31st was announced as firm date of a GDR peace treaty, unless prior agreement reached with the West on an all-German peace treaty. Soviet pressure for an early Summit was stepped up. The Soviet Union consented to a Foreign Ministers' Conference; the conference broke up November 30th, after two weeks of acrimonious debate.

Khrushchev renewed his call for a 4-power Summit, hammering on December 31st as his deadline, but not revealing any fresh negotiating positions. The U.S. gained reluctant consent by Britain and France to rejecting Khrushchev's "absolutely final" summit date, December 26th, on December 20th.

Khrushchev's reaction was vehement in condemning the war-mongers. He disclosed that if the West had accepted his Summit call, he would have come with new disarmament proposals. As to Berlin, he was forced to pursue his long-announced policy, hoping that reason would prevail in the West. If not, force would be met with devastating force.

On New Year's Eve, the Peace Treaty was solemnly signed. While the Treaty was declared effective immediately, it provided for a month's transition period during which the USSR would exercise its functions on

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access to Berlin. Midnight, January 31st, GDR authorities would assume these functions fully, all Soviet personnel be withdrawn, and all Allied military rights in Berlin declared null and void, subject to renegotiation with GDR authorities.

Some U.S. press comment interpreted this as a "backdown," confirming once more that Khrushchev's ultimatums were not to be taken seriously. More cautious comments spoke of a short breathing spell.

EVENTS IN BERLIN AND GERMANY

The sealing-off of the sector border had not brought explosive developments. Inter-sector commuter traffic resumed almost its previous scale under a permit system. A few hundred refugees continued to enter West Berlin daily, with GDR exit permits. They were mostly elderly and other persons dispensable to the GDR economy.

Outward calm in Berlin was facilitated by firm measures by West Berlin authorities to prevent provocative demonstrations by West Berliners. West Berlin morale remained generally high but economic indicators showed some soft spots. In early December, an unusual number of West Berliners departed for early Christmas vacations in West Germany.

Latent unrest in East Germany subsided, as a result of (1) inconspicuous repressive measures against active discontents, (2) a wait-and-see attitude encouraged by Western firmness, (3) an announcement that the USSR (enabled by its 1961 bumper crop) had extended massive credits to the GDR, and publicity on the imminent institution of NEP-type policies in the GDR, involving retreat from collectivization.

WEST GERMANY

When early September public opinion polls disclosed an unexpectedly strong SPD position, CDU politicians increasingly appealed to nationalist and irridentist sentiments. Their speeches were picked up by Soviet propaganda as evidence of revanchism, and also by the press in Britain and France. The SPD, during the election campaign, was rent by a public split between a pro-Brandt majority and factions left of him, and suffered heavy defeat.

Interzonal trade had been stopped October 1st, but United States efforts to extend the embargo through NATO actions resulted only in inconclusive consultations which dragged on into January. The USSR and satellites promoted indecision by offering large-scale orders to Western European concerns.

UNITED KINGDOM

The government's strong efforts to persuade Washington of the need for negotiation and summitry were evidenced in the press and parliamentary debate. Other issues diverted British interest: The economic austerity program failed to stave off an imminent balance-of-payments crisis, while exacerbating Labor opinion, causing much public disgruntlement, and raising inhibitions against tampering with East-West trade. The Kuwait crisis, and (in January) the new threat to Hong Kong (see below) provided further distractions, and gave rise to commentaries of Britain's "hopelessly overextended defense commitments."

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military power by force and to divide the French-claimed spoils in the Sahara. The pact had strong and unexpected UAR backing, but there was no evidence of Sino-Soviet instigation or aid.

The agreement signalled the start of terrorist operations all over Algeria, countered by French military reinforcements and increasingly uncontrolled French civilian counter-terrorism. In mid-December Paris informed Washington that it would be unable to add to French NATO commitments. In mid-January, Paris secretly informed Washington that by February 15th it would have to start moving two NATO-committed divisions to Algeria.

MIDDLE EAST

Sudden indications of an UAR-Iraqi rapprochement in December were followed, early in January, by offers to Kuwait and Jordan to join a new Arab Union, with indications that the offer would be implemented by force if refused.

AFRICA

Portuguese claims to have subdued rebellion in Angola were refuted by violent outbreaks there and in Mozambique. All Portuguese military resources were committed to Africa by the end of 1961, and Afro-Asian anti-Portuguese sentiment rose to an explosive peak.

SOUTHEAST ASIA

Increased U. S. support had led to limited successes against Viet Cong, and Pathet-Lao and Viet Minh forces in Laos. U. S.-supported guerrilla inroads into North Viet Nam, started in September, had also found indigenous support and, by mid-January, had established several

promising bases for extending these operations. North Viet Nam counteraction (with moderate Soviet airborne logistic support, and definite signs of low-level Chinese participation) had been vigorous and tended to expand the scale of operations and of U.S. commitments in Indochina, without preventing the initial successes of U.S.-backed forces. These successes gave expressions of interest by Thailand, and even Burma, in active participation, given much-increased U.S. support. There were ominous indications of massive Chicom preparations for "volunteer" intervention.

CHINA

A mending of Sino-Soviet relations was unexpectedly heralded by Chou En-Lai's appearance in East Berlin, where he signed the Peace Treaty. A few days later, Moscow and Peking announced an impressive agreement on economic, technical and scientific cooperation, backed by Soviet cancellation of all Chinese debts, a large credit to finance industrial expansion, and large Soviet grain export commitments (out of the same bumper crop).

In mid-January, the Chicom press launched a campaign on the theme that the "Free City" solution for West Berlin provided the perfect precedent for solving the anomaly of Hong Kong. A confidential note proposing immediate negotiations to this end was handed to the British Charge d'Affaires in Peking on January 26. By January 31st, London had passed confidential word to Washington about receipt of the note. By that date, Washington had also received a report passed by hitherto reliable satellite channels that the secret Sino-Soviet talks held in December had also led to agreement for USSR to provide large-scale

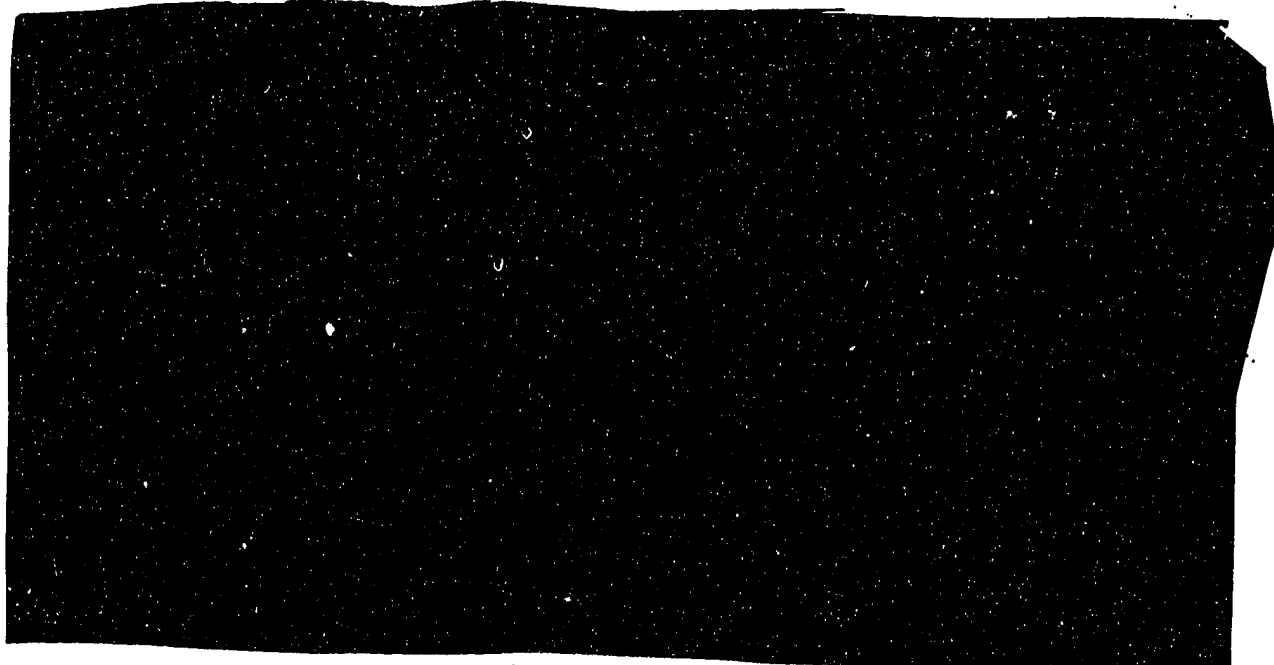
assistance to Chicom nuclear and missile program and, as an interim measure, to supply and deploy a nuclear MRBM capability in China under joint Sino-Soviet control.

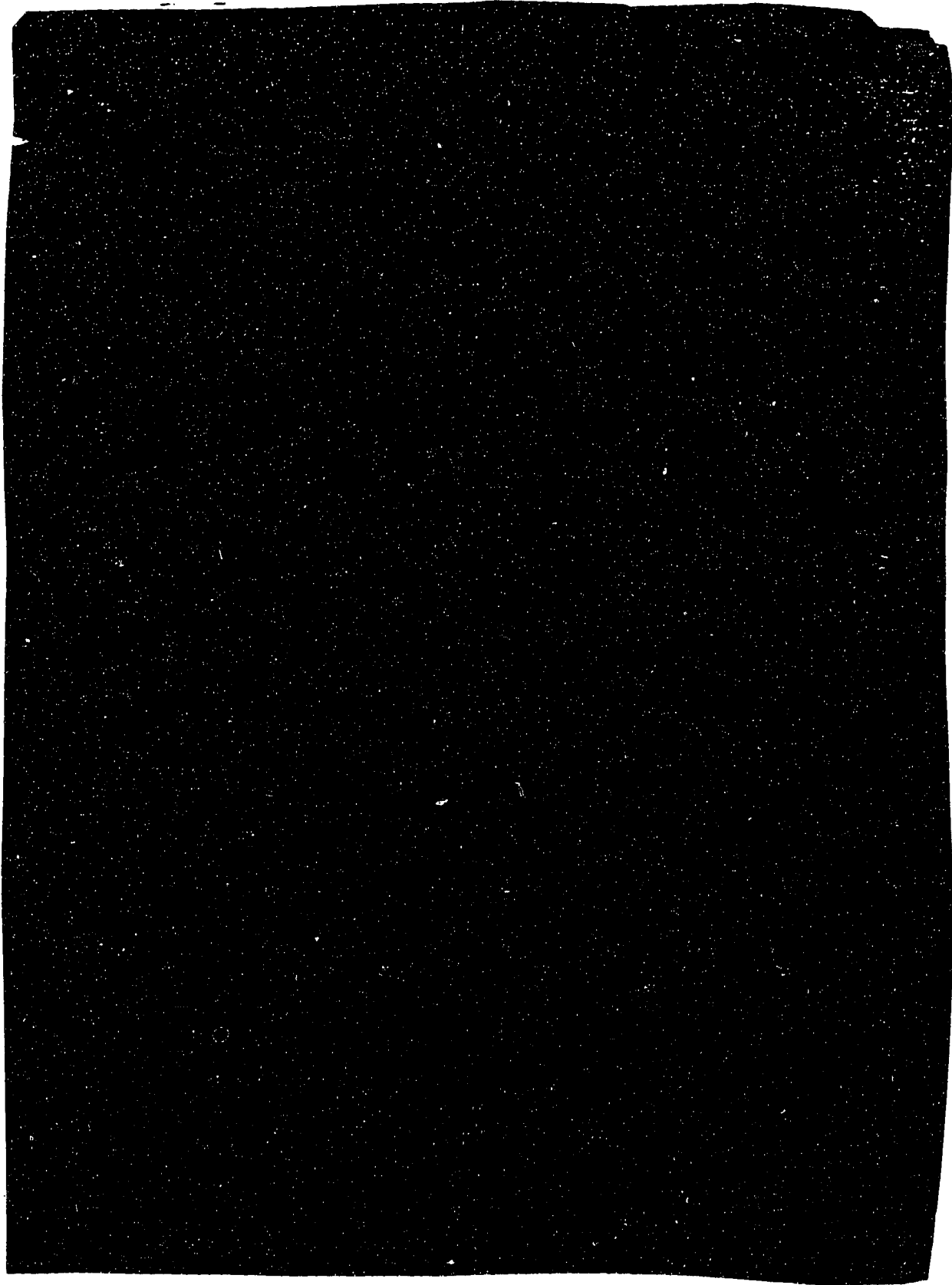
UNITED NATIONS

Mounting Afro-Asian agitation over events in Africa, the Middle East, and S.E. Asia led to a special session of the General Assembly which started January 24, its agenda replete with anti-colonialist, anti-militarist, anti-Western resolutions. The USSR and other Soviet Bloc delegations were reticent, and let Afro-Asians do the talking.

The United States--its diplomatic and policymaking resources taxed to saturation point--did its best to antagonize neither its NATO allies, nor the Afro-Asians. January 30 when the Assembly adjourned for a two-day recess, detached observers felt that the United States had pleased neither, and antagonized both.

PLANS FOR BERLIN DEADLINE





The time is 12 noon, Berlin time, February 1, 1962.

BRIEF SCENARIO

It is February 11, 1962, 8 P.M., Berlin time. These are pertinent events up to this point.

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Following the sealing off of East Berlin and a short period of great tension, events in Berlin remained calm if tense throughout the late summer and early fall. The refugee flow inched up and by the end of the year had stabilized at 150 per day coming in through a well-organized underground railroad.

In the United States a moderate military buildup was in progress in line with the President's speech of mid-July. West German troop strength continued to increase and the draft was increased to two years. The German elections resulted in no major change in the composition of the Bundestag; Adenauer continued as Chancellor.

The much anticipated "Berlin negotiation" never occurred. The Soviet position continued to be that a separate peace treaty was inevitable by the end of the year if a new status for Berlin and the GDR could not be negotiated; the Allied position continued to be that such a peace treaty was a violation of the occupation agreement but that the only fighting issue was access to Berlin. Talk of a "Summit" conference continued but no basis for such a conference emerged from the various notes and conversations.

In early December it was announced that the peace treaty with the GDR would be signed at the end of the month and would go into effect on the first of January. Khrushchev made clear that the status of West

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Berlin was still subject to negotiation, that citizens of that city would be safe unless Western adventurism put them in jeopardy. He particularly warned against Western efforts to use its so-called "supply problem" in Berlin as an excuse for violating the integrity of GDR. There is no supply problem and there need be none, he said, so long as the Western powers do not make illegal use of their obsolete "occupation rights" to violate GDR sovereignty.

The ceremony took place on New Years Day. Breaths were held; but nothing happened for nearly two weeks. On Friday, January 12, the GDR announced that the Allied powers were abusing their access to Berlin: Citizens of GDR, guilty of crimes against the state, were being flown through GDR airspace. This must cease or the GDR will be obliged to exert its sovereign rights over aircraft passing through its airspace.

On January 16 East German authorities dramatically announced that they would permit no further armed penetration of their national border. The transport of military equipment may proceed; armed penetration will not be tolerated. Specifically this means that armed, combat-ready equipment may not proceed across East German territory except in accordance with legitimate treaties.

On January 17 military vehicles en route to West Berlin were stopped at the border. GDR authorities conveyed that vehicles in an "armed" state would not penetrate the border. This will require inspection to assure that any armed vehicles "transported" to Berlin are not combat ready and not on an "armed mission." Accusing the GDR of trumping of fake issues, the Allies refused to submit to any such inspection. A substantial increase in military airlift took place.

January 31 a commercial aircraft flying outbound from Berlin, bound for West Germany, was forced to land at an East German airfield. The East German radio announced that a "smuggling operation" involving East German criminal escapees had been intercepted in East German airspace, and warned that unless the practice stopped commercial aircraft would be forced to submit to inspection, either in Berlin or at airfields in the GDR. The action was hotly denounced by the Western Allies.

As a result of the incident West Germany suspended interzonal trade. A high state of nervousness was reported among the East German populace. GDR police were subjected to increased security measures. The United States ordered U.S. citizens travelling in Iron Curtain countries to return home. Macmillan in Commons stressed that this was a time to remain calm; one false move could send the world over the brink of war. The NATO Council was in constant session with rumors leaking of a major split in the alliance over a hard or soft line.

February 3 another commercial plane was buzzed en route from Berlin. It crashed, no survivors. The Western Allies initiated a fighter air patrol of the air corridors, announcing that any interference with flights would be treated as a hostile attack. GDR announced it would initiate its own fighter air patrol. The situation--they announced--is fraught with the peril of war; the Allied fighter aircraft will not be tolerated longer than necessary for the Allied governments to retract their illegal action.

The French, British, and U.S. Governments, all represented in the fighter escort operation, denounced the concept of GDR airspace in the Berlin air corridors, denounced the piracy of the GDR in molesting air traffic and causing one aircraft to crash, vowed to continue providing

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for the security of Eastern European refugees seeking freedom in the west, and stated that the air corridors would be patrolled as long as East German molestation made it necessary.

February 11, Sunday, an American military cargo aircraft crashed in the Berlin corridor. A French fighter aircraft failed to return to base, the pilot having announced by radio that he and a cargo aircraft had been buzzed by a GDR plane, that the cargo aircraft was in trouble, and that he was going in pursuit of the East German plane. Two hours later the world was startled at a USSR announcement that Allied plane strafed GDR airbase; this has all characteristics of "undeclared war" on an ally of the USSR; GDR has full military support of USSR in any action it deems necessary to its integrity and security.

At 4 P.M. local time East German Radio broadcast message from GDR to Allied Governments, along following lines:

Henceforth--starting midnight--any combat aircraft will be summarily despatched upon entrance to GDR airspace. Transport aircraft will be permitted but only subject to the following safeguard: to assure against any breach of the frontier, transport aircraft wishing to use the air corridors to Berlin must be manifestly unarmed. For this purpose, any transport aircraft wishing to cross the GDR frontier will submit to inspection by designated GDR diplomatic officials prior to take-off, or alternatively will submit to escort and land at designated GDR airfields for examination prior to proceeding to Berlin. Similar inspection by GDR will apply to military transport on surface routes.

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At 7 P.M. Mayor Willy Brandt broadcast a vigorous statement that a reckoning had come; that GDR was testing Allied resolve; that the West, however weak it has been in the past, would not accede to the GDR threat-- to do so would be to surrender Berlin; that the Berliners should be confident in the face of this Soviet bluff and show by their actions the stuff the West is made of.

It is 8 P.M. Berlin time, Sunday, February 11, 1962.

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DRAFT SCENARIO

The time is _____, Oct. 1, 1961. These are principal events leading up to this time.

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The sealing off of East Berlin in mid-August was followed by striking evidences of unrest and disaffection in East Germany. Large-scale arrests of alleged foreign agents, saboteurs, trouble-makers, and would-be escapees were reported throughout East Germany. Protests against food shortages were reported to be widespread and taken as an indication of general discontent. In many cities, East German police were conspicuously unenergetic in enforcing repressive measures against disorderly groups of protestors. Increasing numbers of police and military personnel defected into West Berlin and asked asylum. Substantial reshuffling of top GDR military personnel was reported. Simultaneous appearance of an "underground" news sheet in several East German cities indicated organized resistance; its news reports of arrests, acts of sabotage, food shortages, personnel changes, and other isolated events were quick and reliable, indicating a high degree of organization and good communication.

Charging that West Berlin was the center of such illegal activity, the GDR cut telephone communication with West Berlin on September 15, widened the "no man's land" between East and West Berlin by closing up buildings, and stopped entry from West Berlin into East Berlin of all except allied military personnel. September 20, apparently tipped of,

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GDR police doubled their security guards around the West Berlin perimeter and rolled up unprecedented numbers of armored vehicles. At dark, evidently by prearrangement, mobs formed in East Berlin at several points only a few hundred yards from West Berlin; a number of fires broke out in the vicinity, explosions were heard, and the mobs moved quickly toward the barricades separating East and West Berlin. At all points but one, barricades, tear gas, and water pressure were successfully used to stop and disperse the mobs; but at _____ the crowd tangled with police at close quarters, searchlights were destroyed, and in the confusion several persons made it across the barricades. A GDR tank broke its way through the barricade in apparent pursuit but, having opened a swath, pulled off to one side; the crew escaped to West Berlin. Several score East Germans made it through the gap before GDR tanks moved in to close it. Most of the crowd escaped back into East Berlin in the confusion; several score were arrested.

September 21, another GDR tank on border duty crashed the barricade, and the crew defected. Ostensibly firing on the tank and plugging the gap, several additional border guards defected. The night of September 21, Soviet armored vehicles replaced East Germans along the East-West Berlin border. During the following week, GDR military units in the area west and south of Berlin were reported being separated from their armor and most vehicles; many units were moved eastward and replaced by Soviet troops.

The night of September 28 riots broke out in a dozen East German cities. GDR troops sent in to support the police defected in several instances, joined the uprising, took up defensive positions, and used

local radio stations to call for general revolt. Before dawn, Soviet troops were in motion to isolate all GDR army units; by early morning, numbers of GDR troops throughout the country had joined the uprising. In most instances they retreated into the nearest city or town, joined or initiated rebellion, assumed defensive positions, and denounced the Soviet occupation, calling for Western help. Widespread sabotage of transport and communication links slowed the Soviet countermeasures; and on September 29, large numbers of GDR MIG 15's strafed USSR airfields in East Germany and fled to the west, many of them crash landing in open fields across the western border.

September 30 all was confusion. Most cities in East Germany, with the notable exception of East Berlin and Magdeburg, appeared either to be in rebel hands with GDR military units collaborating, or else to be without effective government. Soviet army units were moving slowly to cut off and surround a number of cities; Soviet troops appeared to be in command of all airfields, but extensive sabotage to aircraft and POL had occurred at most fields, some of it by defecting armed aircraft. In _____ Soviet troops had begun a "Budapest-type" invasion of the city. The night of September 30, identical announcements were repeated over and over on most radio stations in rebel hands:

The USSR--the announcement reported--had reinstituted a crushing re-occupation of what was to have become the German Democratic Republic. It had reversed the movement toward GDR independence, reinstituted repressive measures, and attempted to disarm GDR military forces. Instead of a "peace treaty," military occupation of the worst sort had been resumed. Spontaneous revolt had become organized, but it had no more chance than Budapest to hold out against Soviet military might.

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The Soviets were already using fire, tanks, and aircraft to massacre the people of East Germany. Only help from the West, within hours, could prevent the bloody suppression of East German self-determination. The West, and especially Germans west of the iron curtain, could not this time shirk their civilized obligations to intervene and demand Soviet withdrawal. The alternative is disaster at Soviet hands.

At dawn, October 1, a rebellious GDR army force, approximately in regimental strength, evaded Soviet encirclement and reached the border southwest of Gera. There it overcame Soviet border guards, demolished barriers, and took up defensive position on the border itself. A patrol made contact with West German military units in the area and asked for support to keep the border open.

In East Berlin absolute round-the-clock curfew reigns.

It is 1 a.m., October 1, 1961.

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